As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

> 1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

> 1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
> 2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
> 3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
> 4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.
>
> April, 1804 [35]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

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Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith [41] and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers." [42] The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yawa* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakiudonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done." [43] Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

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> the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

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[41] (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Itsuka* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tonashikine Ikutsuku Pirikano Kcutomo Otsuta Shitsukasuman Nchita Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

[42] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 15.

[43] *Kokutai* No. 1.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.* The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

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Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

** Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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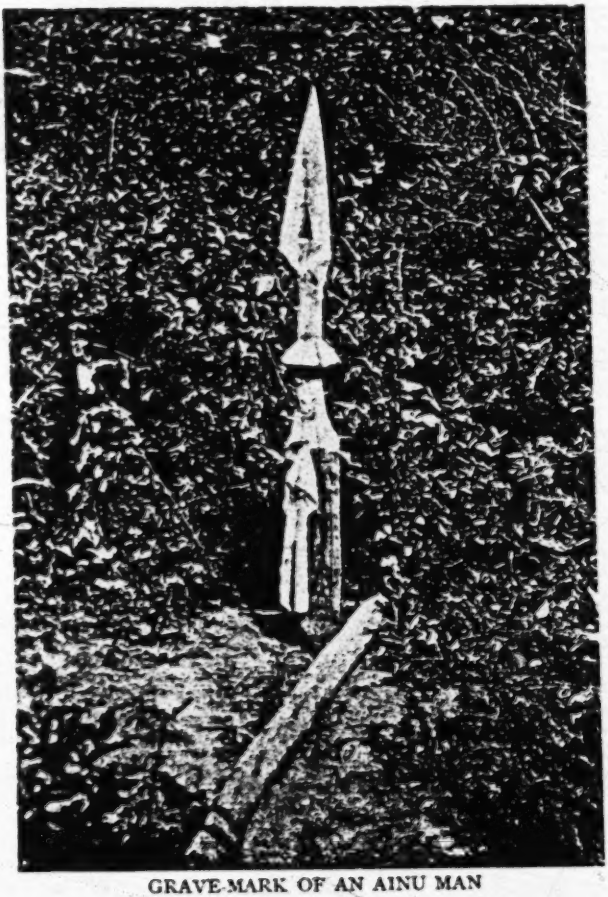


GRAVE-MARK OF AN AINU MAN

[P. 154(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

completely paralyzed. The members of his family would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people said they were sure he was dead and that his answer had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day.

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse.

A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *omen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

[415]

A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *saké* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same. 764

After these viands have been properly arranged, the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions. [776]

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell." [775]

After the food, which is called *pakchai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 Part of the millet cake is then eaten and the remainder hidden in the ashes upon the hearth, each person burying a remnant. After the burial of the body, these remnants are collected and carried out of the hut and placed by the fetish cluster by the east-end window. This feast is called "The bad eating and drinking" and the "Farewell eating." This death feast is one in which the dead are invited to partake together with their living friends and is really an expression of natural affection. There is nothing to fear in the corpse, and the dead will show no hostility to any, so long as they are treated well. I have heard of pipes of tobacco being placed in the mouths of the dead when they have been known to have been very fond of smoking during life.

So soon as the ceremonies have been finished, the corpse is rolled up in a mat which is turned upside down, fastened to a pole and carried to its grave by two men. The pole used for carrying is usually of elder, for this tree is supposed to be unlucky.

Some years ago when some of the Ainu who had become Christians died, a great question arose as to whether the body should be put into a coffin and brought into church before burial. Meetings were held and it was found that the older people did not like the idea of being screwed down in boxes. They prefered the mats. As for going into the church, that would never do, so the elders said, because as soon as ever the body was taken out of its former home, it had started on its long journey to Heaven and must not on any account turn aside. The Ainu have a very curious religion and they act up to it in a very literal manner.

The mourners follow the dead in single file, the men leading; each carrying something to be buried with the body. Whatever the distance to the grave may be, it is the custom, in some districts, to rest three times on the way. The grave is usually dug about three feet deep.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism.

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Ainu cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 lying at full length, with household implements and weapons; but no food or drink is offered, nor is either placed on the grave. The coffin is placed in the ground, with the head to the east. Each mourner throws earth upon it and a rude monument is erected.

It is difficult to find the burial places, which are in desolate, unfrequented spots, seldom visited by the people. Dr. Scheube remarks that the Ainos give no thought to the departed and seem to have a dread of visiting their graves. Several forms of monuments are represented in Fig. 83, standing at the head of graves, which, however, were not

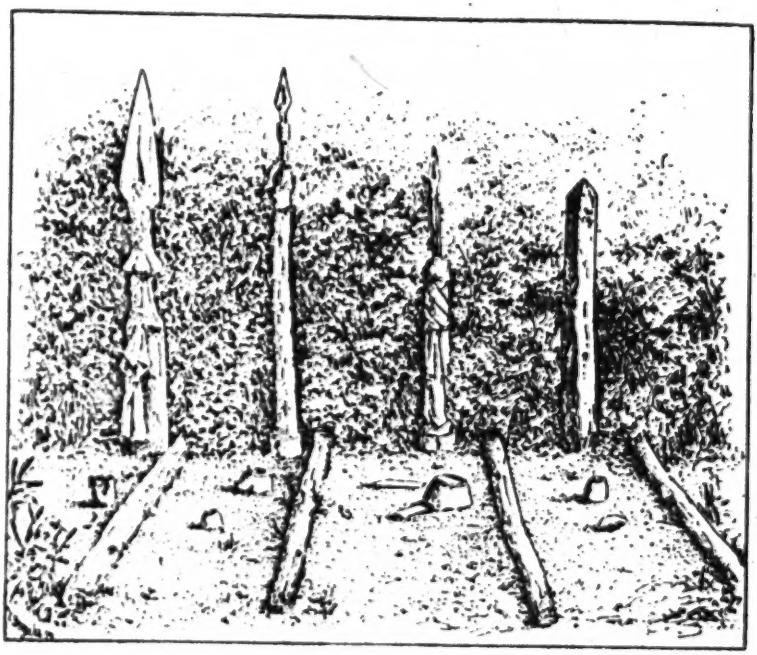


Fig. 83.
AINO GRAVES.

grouped together in the manner shown in the picture. Each grave is marked by an upright post and a recumbent log. The one on the left is from Urap, not far from Hokadate. The drawing was copied from a photograph. The two in the middle are from Dr. Scheube's plate.

The straight post with a rude X and pyramidial apex represents the form of several monuments, which I found under the guidance of a Japanese near Tokoro. A long tramp through tangled underbrush, soaked by the recent rain, brought us to a lonely spot behind the village. The posts were at the west end of the graves, and the X mark faced the west. It was not on the side overlooking the grave, as it is shown to be in the drawing.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 [562]

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

765

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

681 [682]

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen.

[695] [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children.

114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

224 [136]

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

it to take a sketch. The tombs were so many trunks of trees cut and carved, and with one branch left on one side (*see* Chapter XXI.). One tomb particularly was more ornamented, and it had a flat-shaped monument, roughly but well carved at its head. An object resembling the bottom of a "dug-out" covered the body, and this was also carved. At each of the four corners a wooden blade was stuck in the ground. From the stench I should think that the body was only a few inches underground.

Fate had punished me so severely of late for faults which I never committed that I thought myself now entitled to commit a fault for the sake of squaring accounts. One of the small wooden blades, nicely carved, would just go under my coat. I decided to steal it. To my mind it was hardly a big enough crime even to balance the last accident I had had.

I turned round to see that no one was looking. I put down my paint-box, crawled to the grave, took the blade, put it under my coat, and, ashamed of myself for committing the outrage—though with prepaid punishment—I scrambled up on my pony as well I could, and hurriedly left the place. I rode back to the ferry, a long way off, and went across to Ishikari, and catching a moment when no one was watching me, I quickly passed the carved blade from under my coat into my baggage.

"What a good thief I would make," I thought to myself, when to my horror I remembered that in the hurry of leaving the graveyard I had forgotten my paint-box in the very same spot from which I had taken the blade!

If any Ainu had gone to the graveyard and found it, I would get into a nice mess! During the night I felt more than uncomfortable about it, and at dawn the next morning I got the tea-house man to bring my horse and set me on it, for I said, "I wish to go and see the sunrise from the other side of the river."

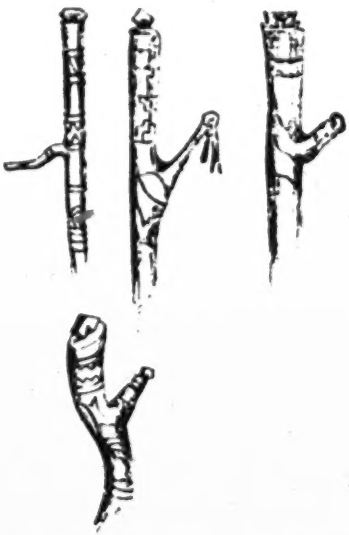
The landlord thought it rather funny, and funnier still when he saw me coming back a couple of hours later with a paint-box lashed to my saddle, while he said he was sure I had started without one.

"Did you not see it this morning?" said I with assumed innocence.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then come the graves. The Ainu are very jealous of these places of eternal rest, and good care is taken to hide them either in the midst of a forest, on a distant and almost inaccessible hill, or in some remote spot, difficult to find or reach.

Each village has its own semi-secret graveyard, in which all its dead are buried. Occasionally, when the site of a graveyard has become known to others than these local Ainu, the place is deserted, and a fresh place of sepulture is chosen. The manner of burial is as follows. The body, wrapped up in a *Kinna* (mat), is fastened to a long pole and carried to the grave by two men. All the villagers follow, each carrying some article which was owned by the deceased. A grave is dug, wide and long enough to hold the body laid flat. In it are placed the bow and arrows with their quiver, the knife—from which, for the sake of economy, the blade has been pre-



WOODEN MONUMENTS OVER MEN'S GRAVES.

MONUMENTS FOR WOMEN.

viously removed—and the drinking-vessel which belonged to the deceased, if he were a man. Women are usually buried with some beads, earrings, and furs. All these articles, carried

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (⅄), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

582 614 (4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 [614] 462 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 849 614 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 769 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu.

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites.

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W.

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shinurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 776 532 773 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 776 532 [789] [171] Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

● [764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 776 552 532 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*inakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

HEARTH AND HOME

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 527 782 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[411] [292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, [764] and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

?:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 78/(H)]

1.

2.

3.

4.

[301]
[291]
[531]

[789]
[775]
764

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

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The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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Funeral Food

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With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

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[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed, *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends. The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

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he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

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764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [531] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara, Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

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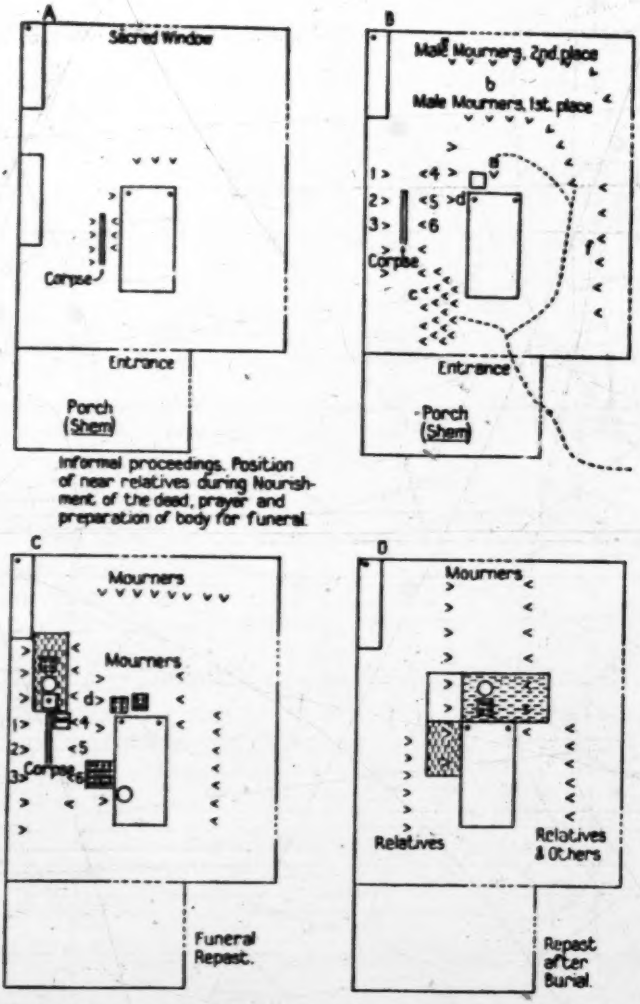

Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during Nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of body for funeral.

TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

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Social Mourning

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The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

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If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

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of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

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No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies.

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping.

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past.

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet.

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence

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764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders [782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 264 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back.

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial.

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free

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764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives.

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales.

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman.

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 [789] [783] When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 778 [184] [532] *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

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elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

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782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with *'fuo!'* and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

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Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Renmuikesh says that

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states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been considered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

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173 223 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as communication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting [239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eagle-hunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 [829] The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to [764] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighbor-hood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 123 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer